

Message Text

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DODE-00 EB-07 FRB-03 H-02 INR-07 INT-05 L-03 LAB-04

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 AID-05 CIEP-01 SS-15 STR-04

ITC-01 TRSE-00 USIA-06 PRS-01 SP-02 OMB-01 AF-08

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FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9515

INFO USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY

USMISSION OECD PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 4049

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EGEN, UN, PFOR

SUBJ: G-77 MEETING IN MEXICO CITY USUN WRAP-UP

REF: STATE 219540

SUMMARY: TO A LARGE DEGREE THE MEXICO MEETING WAS AN
ABORTED SESSION OF THE G-77. THE MAJOR PLAYERS WERE TIRED,
HAD TOO LITTLE TIME TO PREARE FOR IT AND THUS IT RESULTED
IN RECOMMENDING LOTS OF STUDIES BUT NOT MUCH MORE. SCHISMS
IN THE G-77 EXIST AND ONLY TIME WILL TELL WHETHER
GROUP SOLIDARITY CAN BE MAINTAINED. END SUMMARY
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1. HOST COUNTRY OVERVIEW. THE G-77 MEETING AT MEXICO CITY ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION AMONG DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WAS IN OUR VIEW HOSTED BY MEXICO AS PART OF A THREE RING CIRCUS, WITH THE RINGMASTER PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA. AT A MINIMUM, WE CONCLUDE FROM POST-MEXICO CITY CONVERSATIONS AND OUR OWN OBSERVATIONS THAT AT SOME STAGE THE GOM HAD AT LEAST THREE GOALS IN MIND IN BANKROLLING THIS EXTRAVAGANZA. (A) A DESIRE TO CREATE A RELATIVELY ELABORATE INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM FOR THE GROUP OF 77 WITH THE THIRD WORLD INSTITUTE TO SERVE AS A CENTERPIECE. (B) TO BECOME THE SITE OF A POST-HABITAT INSTITUTION WHICH WOULD ASSUME PRIMARY LEADERSHIP IN THE NOW PRIORITY AREA OF HUMAN SETTLEMENTS AND WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY ABSORB MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THE CENTER FOR HOUSING, BUILDING AND PLANNING AND THE UN HOUSING AND HUMAN SETTLEMENTS FOUNDATION. (C) TO INDIRECTLY INITIATE A PROCESS WHEREBY MEXICO WOULD BECOME A MAJOR GEOGRAPHIC CENTER FOR IDEOLOGY, RESEARCH AND STAFFING FOR THE THIRD WORLD.

2. AT MAY ALSO BE THAT THIS CIRCUS, AS INITIALLY CONCEIVED, PROVIDED AN ON-THE-SPOT OPPORTUNITY TO ASSESS WHAT PERSONAL ROLE, IF ANY, MIGHT REMAIN FOR ECHEVERRIA ON THE MULTI-LATERAL SCENE AFTER HIS PRESENT INCUMBENCY. IF THESE WERE THEIR AIMS, IMPLIED OR IN FACT, WE WOULD CONCLUDE THAT THIS MAY WELL HAVE BEEN AN EXPENSIVE AND RATHER PAINFULLY UNSUCCESSFUL VENTURE FOR THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT INsofar AS (A) IT DID NOT GET AN INSTITUTIONAL SECRETARIAT FOR THE G-77 NOR WAS THE THIRD WORLD INSTITUTE ACCEPTED AS A LINK TO EITHER THE G-77 OR THE UN, EXCEPT FOR NOMINAL (AND LEGITIMATE) SUPPORT FROM THE UNDP, (B) APART FROM A POSSIBLE REGIONAL INSTITUTE, THE CAUSE OF AN INTERNATIONAL FOLLOW-UP MECHANISM FOR HABITAT WAS NOT SIGNIFICANTLY ADVANCED, AND (C) A NUMBER AND VARIETY OF GOVERNMENTS WERE AT LEAST UNHAPPY AT THE NUMBER OF POLITICAL EXILES REPOSING IN AND AROUND THE THIRD WORLD INSTITUTE. THEREFORE, THEY WERE NOT ENAMORED OF THE NOTION THAT THE INSTITUTE BECOME THE THINK TANK OF THE THIRD WORLD.

3. THE MEXICANS MADE EVERY EFFORT TO TURN THIS INTO A SUCCESS, BUT THEIR POSITION IN THE THIRD WORLD, THE
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SHEER MAGNITUDE OF THE DELEGATE NUMBERS, THE SPREAD OF DELEGATES BOTH GEOGRAPHICALLY AND INTELLECTUALLY, THE FACT THAT COLOMBO WAS JUST TOO RECENT TO HAVE ANY CAREFUL THOUGHT PIECES READY FOR REVIEW - ALL THIS ADDED UP TO A MEETING WHICH NEVER QUITE COALESCED. IF THE MEXICANS HAD CLEAR OBJECTIVES WHEN THEY OFFERED TO HOST THE CONFERENCE, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THEY CAME AWAY WITH THE FEELING THEIR MONEY, TIME AND EFFORT WAS WELL SPENT. (WE WILL

LEAVE TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO CITY COMMENTARY ON THE
MEXICANS AND THEIR VIEWS.)

4. BHUTTO'S ECONOMIC SUMMIT. THE PAKISTANI PROPOSAL WAS
NOT WARMLY RECEIVED IN MEXICO CITY BUT NEITHER DID IT DIE
THERE. THE CONFERENCE AGREED TO TAKE NOTE OF THE
PROPOSAL AND REFER IT TO GOVERNMENTS. INDIA AND
YUGOSLAVIA LED THE FIGHT AGAINST THE PROPOSAL BUT THEY
HAD THE SUPPORT OF MANY DELS WHO DID NOT SEE ANY SPECIFIC
NEW OBJECTIVE OR BENEFIT TO BE DERIVED FROM IT.

5. G-77 INSTITUTIONALIZATION. THE MEXICAN PROPOSAL TO
CREATE A G-77 SECRETARIAT WAS LEFT HANGING, AT BEST.
THE NEXT G-77 MINISTERIAL MEETING WILL DECIDE ON THE FREQUENCY
OF FUTURE G-77 MEETINGS. THIS DISCUSSION WAS IN A SENSE
THE VISIBLE TIP OF THE POLITICAL ICEBERG, I.E. THE INHERENT
DANGER TO THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM) IF THE G-77
BECAME INSTITUTIONALIZED THE THEREBY CHALLENGED THE NAM IN
TERMS OF ECONOMIC-POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. (MORE ON THIS ISSUE IS
DISCUSSED BELOW). OTHERS SEE THE CREATION OF YET
ANOTHER INTERNATIONAL BUREAUCRACY AS AN EVIL IN ITSELF,
FURTHER CONFUSING AND CONFOUNDING THOSE WHO SEEK TO TAKE
REASONED POSITIONS ON MAJOR, ESPECIALLY ECONOMIC,
ISSUES. THE OPPOSITION GROUP INCLUDED SUCH MIXED MEMBERSHIP
AS INDIA, YUGOSLAVIA, ARGENTINA, CUBA, PERU, PAKISTAN,
ALGERIA AND LIBYA.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 4049

6. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE COMMITTEE AND CONFERENCE REPORTS, IN DEALING WITH SUBSTANTIVE STUDIES (TO BE UNDERTAKEN BY EXISTING SECRETARIATS OF REGIONAL AND SUB-REGIONAL GROUPINGS AND COMMISSIONS, AS WELL AS UNCTAD) RECOMMEND THAT THEY BE SUBMITTED TO "AN APPROPRIATE MACHINERY OF THE G-77" AND EVEN IN SOME CASES, THAT THE G-77 SHOULD ITSELF COMPLETE STUDIES ON A WIDE RANGE OF TOPICS. THIS MACHINERY OF THE G-77, IF IT COMES INTO EXISTENCE, WILL HAVE ENORMOUS TASKS OF COORDINATION AND EXECUTION OF STUDIES BEFORE IT. IN A SENSE, IF THE RECOMMENDATIONS EMANATING FROM MEXICO CITY ARE TAKEN SERIOUSLY, A G-77 INSTITUTION COULD BE CONSTRUCTED
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FROM THE GROUND UP, SO TO SPEAK.

7. UNCTAD AND REGIONAL COMMISSION SUPPORT. SPRINKLED THROUGHOUT THE DOCUMENTS ARE INVITATIONS AND REQUESTS TO UNCTAD AND THE REGIONAL COMMISSIONS TO EXECUTE SPECIFIC STUDIES. IT WOULD NOT BE UNFAIR TO SAY THAT IF THESE BODIES WERE TO RESPOND ENTHUSIASTICALLY AND IN DETAIL, THEY WOULD HAVE ENOUGH WORK FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS. (WE DO NOT HAVE A READING ON HOW THESE SEPARATE BODIES WILL RESPOND AND IMAGINE THEY WILL NEED TIME TO DIGEST THE PROPOSALS BEFORE ATTEMPTING TO EITHER DESIGN STUDIES, AS REQUESTED, OR REVIEW THEIR BUDGETS TO DETERMINE HOW THEY MIGHT ACCOMPLISH THE TASKS PROPOSED. CLEARLY THEY WILL BE UNDER PRESSURE TO POSITIVELY CONSIDER THESE PROPOSALS BY REGIONAL MEMBERS WITH PARTICULAR INTERESTS IN MIND.) WHAT IS ALSO NOT CLEAR IS THE DEGREE TO WHICH UNCTAD ITSELF IN ANY WAY UNDERWROTE THE MEXICO CITY MEETING.

8. BILATERAL PLAYERS AND ISSUES.

A. AS EARLIER REPORTED, THE SPLIT BETWEEN THE NON-ALIGNED MEMBERSHIP AND THOSE G-77 MEMBERS NOT PART OF THE NAM,

THE RICH-VERY POOR, THE OPEC AND NON-OPEC COUNTRIES, WERE VERY MUCH A PART OF THE GROUP INTERACTION IN THE CLOSED COMMITTEE SESSIONS AND CORRIDOR ACTIVITY. AS REPORTED IN SEPTEL, THE CLEAREST CASE IN WHICH THESE FISSURES NEARLY BROKE TO THE SURFACE WAS IN THE LATIN GROUP, WHERE BRAZIL PROPOSED A SUB-GROUP EXCLUDING LATIN OPEC COUNTRIES. WHILE APPARENTLY THIS DID NOT FINALLY RESULT IN A SPLIT, THIS AS WELL AS OTHER REGIONS ARE FEELING THE STRAINS OF SACRIFICING MORE RATIONAL POLICIES ON CASE-BY-CASE BASIS FOR GROU SOLIDARITY.

B. THERE WERE REFERENCES TO LIBERATION STRUGGLES INVOLVING NAMIBIA, ZIMBABWE, TANZANIA AND PALESTINE, AS WELL AS THE NEED FOR SPECIAL ASSISTANCE TO NEWLY INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES. IT IS OUR GENERAL IMPRESSION THESE DID NOT CONSUME AN INORDINATE AMOUNT OF CONFERENCE TIME, AND FOR THE MOST PART, REFERENCES TO THEM IN THE CHAPEAU WERE PRO FORMA. NOR DID WE HEAR MUCH ABOUT NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS PARTICIPATING IN THE CONFERENCE; IF THEY WERE CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESENT, THEY WERE NOT PARTICULARLY ACTIVE OR SEEKING TO USE THIS FORUM TO PUSH THEIR CAUSES.

C. THE G-77 ENDED UP BY SUPPORTING THE UNCTAD, GATT AND PARIS CONFERENCES AS FORA IN WHICH TO CONCENTRATE THEIR UNIFIED EFFORTS IN OBTAINING THEIR ECONOMIC OBJECTIVES. WHILE NOT A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE, IT WAS NOT AT LEAST A CONDEMNATION OF THESE EFFORTS AND THUS MEXICO CITY DID NOTHING TO INTERRUPT WHATEVER DIALOGUE IS OR WILL BE GOING FORWARD. THE U.S. WAS NEITHER SINGLED OUT AS THE GREAT CULPRIT NOR DID WE RECEIVE ANY LAURELS. IT WAS NOT THAT KIND OF MEETING, PROBABLY BECAUSE WE AND THE OTHERS - WEO'S AND SOVIET BLOC - WERE NOT PRESENT. (SECURITY WAS VERY TIGHT AND EXCLUDED NON-G-77 MEMBERS FROM THE BUILDING, LET ALONE THE MEETINGS.)

D. THE CUBANS WERE SURPRISINGLY LOW-LEVEL AND LOW-KEY. ONE WOULD HAVE EXPECTED A LOT OF POT-STIRRING IN THEIR BACKYARD WITH THE HOST A FRIEND. TO THE CONTRARY THEY SENT NO IMPORTANT IDEOLOGUE OR TOP-LEVEL FIGURE-HEAD AND FROM WHAT WE LEARNED, THEY DID NOT TAKE AN ACTIVE LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE PROCEEDINGS.

E. ON LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION GENERALLY, HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE DEDICATION OF THE THIRD WORLD INSTITUTE, IN ALL PROBABILITY THE FIGUREHEADS HEADING DELEGATIONS WOULD NOT HAVE EVEN BRIEFLY APPEARED ON THE SCENE. (WITH REGARD TO THE CARIBBEAN, A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES WERE IN THE PRE-OR POST-ELECTION PHASE AND WERE NOT IN A POSITION TO SEND

HIGH LEVEL REPRESENTATION.)

F. BOTH KOREAS TOOK OFF AT ONE ANOTHER AND IN THE OPINION OF MOST DELS WE CONTACTED NEITHER GAINED GROUND. MUCH OF IT WAS VIEWED AS PRELIMINARY SPARRING FOR THE 31ST UNGA, BUT WITH THAT ITEM NOW OFF THE AGENDA THEIR EFFORTS WERE WASTED.

9. COMMENT: THE LOGISTICS DIFFICULTIES ONLY ADDED TO THE FATIGUE OF THE G-77 PLAYERS WHO STILL MUST ABSORB ALL OF THE MATERIALS FLOWING FROM UNCTAD IV, CIEC AND COLOMBO AND SOMEHOW BE PREPARED FOR THE 31ST UNGA.
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FROM A DEVELOPING COUNTRY STANDPOINT MEXICO CITY MAY HAVE MOVED THE COLOMBO INITIATIVES ONE SMALL STEP FURTHER BUT IT DID NOT PRODUCE THE CONCRETE PROPOSALS THAT ITS ORGANIZERS MAY HAVE HOPED FOR.
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